1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



756 There are two ways in which a man can join the medicine dance. He may simply apply for admission to any of the five leaders, or he may take the place of a deceased relative. In the former case, if his payment is satisfactory, and he has the other qualifications, he is accepted. In the other case, his relatives decide to have him take the place of a deceased relative. This latter form of candidacy is by far the more common. At the present day initiation requires the payment of about $300 or $400, in the form of goods and tobacco. Of this, a portion is given to the leader of the ancestor host's band during the four nights' preparation, and the rest to the leaders of the other four bands during the ceremony proper.

Exactly how much information an individual obtains on entering can not be determined. Much depends on the amount of the payment. The minimum knowledge would amount to an acquaintance with the bare externals of the ceremony, its general significance, and such knowledge of the legendary origin of the lodge as a single recital could give. The new member is not initiated into the symbolism of the ritualistic myths, and consequently a large portion of the same must be unintelligible to him. What he obtains is practically only the right to hold the otter-skin bag and to use it in a certain way. He may not take part in any of the forms of dancing or singing, nor may he even shoot at will. He very rarely remains in this condition long, but takes the first opportunity to purchase additional knowledge and privileges.

There are three kinds of members—mature men, women, and children. The privileges of women differ from those of the men, in that the women do not have to take the sweat bath, may never become assistants, and are allowed to dance only in a certain way. In other respects they have the same privileges as men. In practice there are certain privileges that women never have, but this is due to the fact that either they do not care for them or they are not in a position to buy them. Children belong to a quite different category. Although they possess an otter skin, they have not even the power of making it effective. There does not seem to be any evidence indicating that women were ever excluded from membership.

621 756 *Prescribed duties of the hosts.*—The duties of the host, called the ancestor-host, are as follows:

1. To rehearse the songs and rituals with his band four nights previous to the ceremony proper. At this rehearsal the candidate is always present and is instructed in the ceremony.

● [280] 2. To send out invitation sticks and tobacco to the leaders of the other four bands. The messengers are always his sisters' sons.

3. To begin the four nights' ceremony preceding the ceremony proper.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



778 B. was not the eldest son, but, as mentioned before, the war bundle was always given to that son who manifested the greatest interest in it. When B. and his brothers were quite young their father took them aside one day and told them the stories connected with the [869] war bundle and told them, in addition, that the one manifesting the greatest interest would receive it. B. immediately started getting material for a feast, and this he would give to his father, who would then give a feast. This was repeated over and over again until B.'s father felt that B. knew enough about the ceremony to conduct it himself, after which he allowed him to take entire charge of it.

The war bundle contained the following objects:

The body of an eagle (teaxce'p).
The body of a hawk (k'eredjų'sep).
The body of an unidentified bird (waninк'hiwĵteak'i'zǫk'e).
The body of a pigeon hawk (k'irjk'i'rjsge).
A deer-tail headdress (teasinte wak'e're).
Eagle feathers (teaxce'p maeū').
Medicines (wase').
Flutes (hijū'jųk).
War club (namą'tce).

[825] The birds' bodies were supposed to give the possessor, in times of war, the characteristics of these animals. The flutes were associated with different spirits and used to accompany certain songs during the ceremony proper. When blown during a fight, they were supposed to paralyze the running powers of the enemy and thus make [789 him an easy prey. The deer-tail headdress, the eagle feathers, and 726] the war club were all war paraphernalia and were always worn when on the warpath.

X 796 When the custodian of a war bundle decides to give a feast he has his nephews go out and kill as many deer as they can, for the larger the number of deer obtained the larger will be the number of spirits to whom they can make offerings. As a rule ten to eleven deer are killed, so that all the clans, or at least all that are still in existence, can be invited.

[202] After the deer have been killed active preparations are begun; the invitation sticks (nąpū'ǫǫga) are sent out, and the wood for the ceremonial lodge is gathered; and, lastly, old women who have [886] passed their climacteric are set to work on the buckskins and ordered to make them as white as possible. In the preparation of the lodge only the nephews, nieces, and wives of the participating men take part.

The night before the ceremony proper, the Sweat-Lodge ritual takes place.

When the buckskins have been thoroughly bleached they are brought into the lodge and given to the host, who proceeds to mark them in the following manner:

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



539X
796X

grandfather, the drum, will start to walk (in your direction).[184] That we ask of you (i. e., to help us also in our dancing). War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Dance song.)

When the dancing is finished the host speaks again.

*Host's third speech.*—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. We are now trying to do our best to attract (the spirits' attention) to what we are doing and that is why we are placing (the drum) (in front of the guests). What I said about the messenger who is about to walk,[185] that I am going to speak of to you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

Then the attendant first moves the drum to the left side, and places both the drum and the rattle in front of the war-bundle owner who is next (in turn). He also places tobacco in his hand.

*Speech of first guest.*—"Host and his relatives who are seated here, I send my greetings to you. To you who are sitting here impersonating the spirits I send forth my greetings also. It is good. The host and our grandfathers pour tobacco for me. Those in the east, the Night Spirits, added their blessings also, grandfather said, it is said. If at any time we sang the songs and poured tobacco for them he would take cognizance thereof, he said, it is said. The handful of tobacco we poured they would smoke. The clansmen and councilors who are living in as pitiable a condition as I myself who am speaking will be helped, should the spirits accept their offering, just as I will be helped if they accept my tobacco. Thus I thought. The messenger that they have caused to come my way so that the spirits might hear my words,[186] I am unworthy of. What our ancestors have handed down I can merely guess at.[187] O, that it were my good fortune to say even one thing (as they desire it)! Would that the Night Spirits, our grandfathers, would accept the food and the tobacco and the offerings of buckskin! It is with that wish that we say this. Host, members of this clan who are sitting here, I send my greetings toward you. All who are sitting here impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings toward you." (Night Spirits' song.)

When the person in charge of the kettle in honor of Earthmaker[188] has finished, he says (again):

*Second speech of first guest.*—"Host, and your clan who are sitting here, I greet you. You who are sitting here impersonating spirits, I

[184] I. e., the drum will be passed from one guest to another. This constitutes the Rush Ceremony. Cf. Introduction.

[185] The drum is known variously as "wâgi'ga," the public crier, or as "wâ'k'ingára," the messenger, i. e., Homily, "the one through whom something is told." In this second term is included, however, not only the drum but also the guards. The sound of the drum and the guards translates into a language intelligible to the spirits what the Indians are pleading for.

[186] I. e., the drum.

[187] I. e., my knowledge is so imperfect that I will have to take chances at saying the right thing.

[188] This is probably a mistake on the part of the informant. It should be Night Spirit.

[202]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



skins ready. Then they told them to make some invitation sticks. Only four invitation sticks were to be made, and they were to tie tobacco to each of them. The lodge was now ready (fig. 38). They had fixed the vertical poles and had tied them with prickly ecolar sinews. The vertical poles they painted blue.

[202] Then he who was to be the host told the attendants to take the invitation sticks to certain people. "Bring the first one to my friend, Manuha'ga. See that you give it to him. I am sure that he will be here soon after. The second stick you may give to Ka-o'saga. The third one you may give to Mazihimain'ga. Be sure that you bring them to all those who possess war bundles."

The attendant did as he was told and returned and told the host that it was done. "I have seen all of them and told them to make ready. They will soon come and sit down."

All were now in the lodge and were seated. The old man, Kayi'ga, was the host. All his posterity were there. He had placed meat in the kettles over the fireplaces. The first kettle was for Earthmaker and the second for Turtle. "Put them on," he said to the attendants. "Put the third one on for the Thunderbird, and the fourth one for the Fire, the fifth one for the Earth, the sixth one for the Morning Star, the seventh one for Without Horn, and the eighth one for the Nights. Then put on a small kettle for Disease-giver and a full kettle for the Rure'we.

"*Hoo*, we will pour tobacco for them my friend, Manuha'ga. Whenever we can obtain a 'counciling' we always do this, for in that way we help one another. You who are sitting here for me, bundle owners, as many of you as there are within this lodge who are taking the place of the spirits, all of you I greet. War-bundle owners, all of us are thus. When you obtain a council feast for yourselves, then you will help one another. We are putting ourselves in a very pitiable condition, so you must have thought of us, and that is why you came at our bidding. It is good. And we are going to make you fearfully tired. But I beg of you, nevertheless, to continue until the end. We are now going to sing."

They get up and the guests hold tobacco in their hands. Then they sing and weep. The one who was fasting at that time stood at the war bundle crying. Then they sang the following songs:

[533]

Human, four chunks of meat I give you.
Human, four chunks of meat you will eat.
I made it for you, for you who carry the war bundle.

[782] Thus they spoke standing and weeping, pouring tobacco upon the war bundle. This they did. Then Turtle songs were used. That is what they call them. After that they used Thunderbird songs, and then what are called friends' songs. Finally they used the songs [533] they obtained when Disease-giver blessed them. Four songs they

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12



After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhi'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

*Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because they believe that a man's soul (*na-yi'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.